Henry Wallace's 'Budget for Abundance'

PAGE 6

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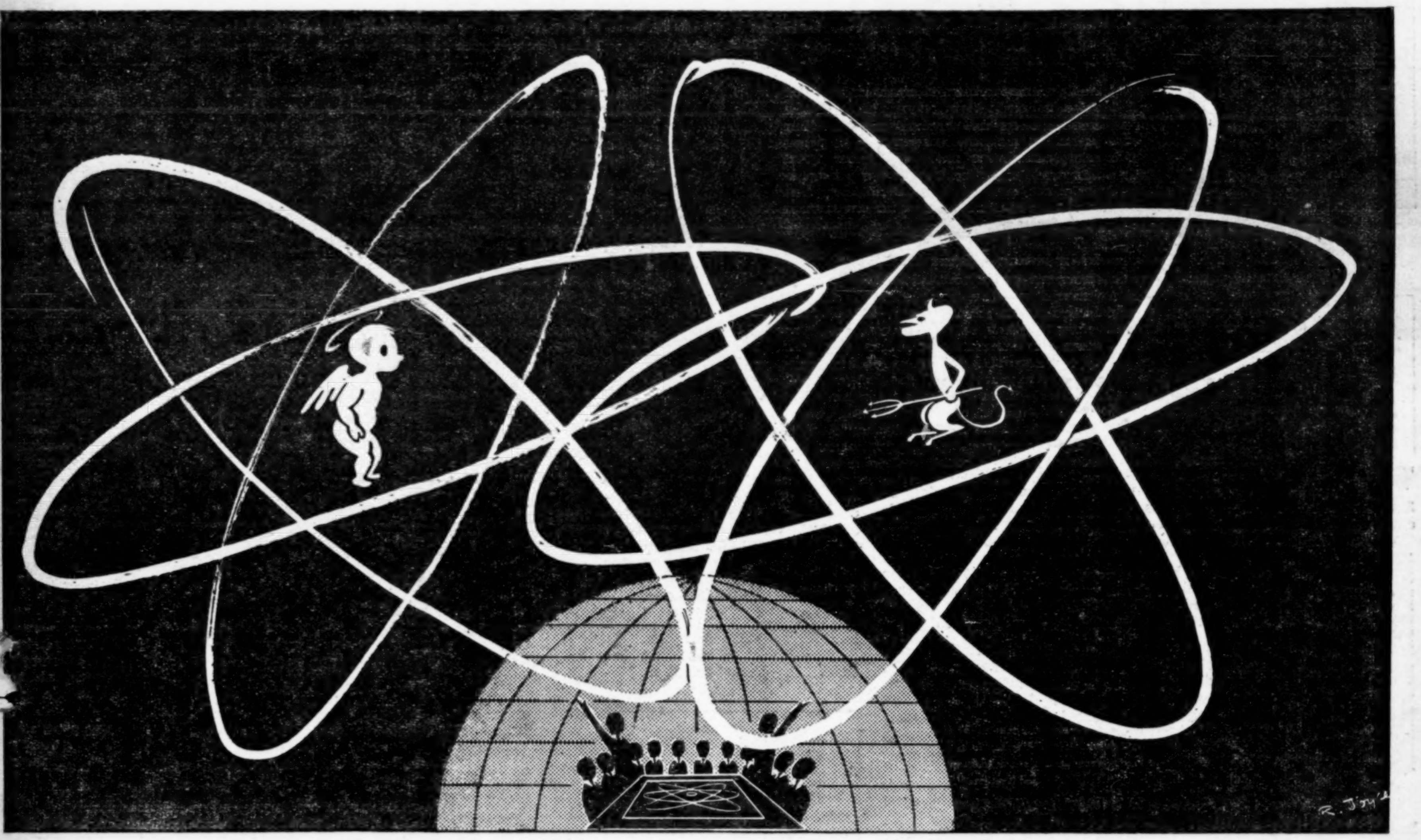

THE CHOICE — THE ATOM FOR GOOD OR EVIL

This is the scene in the rarefied atmosphere above international debate, as pictured by artist Robert Joyce. As the UN Atomic Energy Commission meets again to seek a way out of the atomic dilemma, and the U.S. tests fantastic new weapons of war, it's a pretty sure bet that all the world and his brother are on the side of the angel. (See page 2).

WORLD ROUNDUP

Whither?

STRATOJETS shot up like elevators; a flying wing soared from the ground; intercontinental bombers blasted the air at 50 feet. Watching all this from a little stand at the corner of a field in Camp Springs, Md., last week was the President. With him were 70 Representatives, 32 Senators, a good part of the Cabinet and a great deal of brass.

When it was over an official asked the President what he thought of it. The President said: "Magnificent." Then he added: "But I wonder where it will end."

The official, possibly thinking the President envisioned a blasted world, asked what he meant. The President [illegible]: "The cost."

10,000 m.p.h

[illegible]. SATELLITE. From Washington came word that Government scientists were seriously working on a new satellite that would glide at 10,000 miles per hour close to the moon. It could be a platform from which to shower atomic projectiles. "Some scientists" were said to be confident that the nation first launching its satellites in the heavens would dominate the world. No other nation reported itself in the running.

Rocket planes that would fly at 4,000 miles per hour, and 2,000-m.p.h. guided missiles, were also being studied. The Armed Forces were asking for $200,000,000 to build a 3,000-mile proving ground for rockets. Radar defense ranges were being prepared to ring U. S., Canada, and all Western Europe. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, speaking at America's Town Meeting of the Air,

demanded forces "capable of prompt, certain, effective, terrible retaliation."

(In Quito, Ecuador, people accustomed to such news thought it not at all incredible when their radios announced that an invading force from Mars had just landed. Finding it a hoax, they razed the radio station to the ground. Fifteen died.)

UN and atom

HARD TO FIGURE. The displays, the blueprints and the fierce statements came as Congressmen deliberated on military appropriations. In Washington it was understandable. At Lake Success it was less so.

On Friday the Atomic Energy Commission held its first session in nine months (see Morrison, Page 2). Russia indicated that she would re-submit her proposals for the five big powers to cut all arms and armed forces by one-third before March 1, 1950; ban all atomic weapons and institute controls safeguarding the "legitimate interests" of all nations.

These proposals have been widely labeled a provocation and a trap. Their most recent rejection came in the Security Council two weeks ago. Last week the air show provided a spectacular setting for their renewal.

The pact

KNIGHTHOOD NOT IN FLOWER. Overseas people were more impressed by acrobatics in Congress than in the air. Senators last week were discussing the proposed North Atlantic pact, hitherto held to be a military alliance committing all powers to come to the aid of any nation attacked.

The only power whose aid could really matter was the U.S., the pact's originator and most ardent proponent. Yet on Capitol Hill last week Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said in heated debate: "We cannot be Sir Galahads."

Sen. Vandenberg (R-Mich) agreed. On Wednesday Sen. Connally issued a formal statement: "I do not favor the inclusion in the North Atlantic pact of any clause or provision requiring the U. S. automatically to go to war if any one of the signatories should be attacked." The pact, he thought, should provide that in the event of attack each signatory would "individually or in concert with other parties take such

Continued under the line on page 3

THE WORLD

Action, Paris

Atlantic Pax

Max Werner

Eisenhower return —what it means

THE President of Columbia University has been called back to the Pentagon to act as supreme arbiter among the Chiefs of Staff and Services Departments. Since our military policy became a big question mark, Eisenhower's function will be no less than to overhaul U. S. strategy.

Max Werner

His job will be a difficult one. The leaders of the Air Force, of the Army and of the Navy disagree not merely about details, but about basic things.

Since V-J Day no recognized and clear American war doctrine has been developed. The air-atomic team fought for the lead with determination and eagerness, opposed by the Navy actively on technical grounds and by the Army indecisively on general principles.

MILITARY MYSTICISM. Eisenhower's new mission is undoubtedly favored by the setback which the air-atomic team has suffered within the past weeks. On February 9, General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, in his policy speech in New York warned against illusions and attempts to substitute technical tricks for strategy.

His speech brought an emphatic "No!" to the wild men of the super-blitz doctrine, and was a good preface to Eisenhower's mission. The air-atomic power psychosis and mysticism is on the wane. The leadership of the Air Force seems now to be displaying a realistic appraisal of military facts.

Eisenhower's statements on military policy after V-J day were highly realistic and careful. He spoke against the theory of the absolute offensive, against gambling on superweapons and against any adaptation of the bankrupt German blitz strategy by U. S. military policy. He was never boastful of our military power, nor whining about dangers to America and our alleged weakness. He knows both the strong roots and the limitations of U. S. military might.

THE BIG PUZZLE. The question of the Atlantic Pact is very unclear and it must be expected that he will treat it with the same impeccable realism.

From the Pentagon word has come that all the Atlantic Pact Powers together—the U. S., Great Britain, France and the Benelux countries—today count six divisions in Europe.

This estimate is far below the most cautious inventories made in the last months. Evidently the dearth of U. S.-British fighting manpower cannot be overlooked. General Eisenhower will have to answer the question: how will the Atlantic Pact work under these circumstances?

The British military experts, General Fuller and Captain Cyril Falls, give the answer which must be somewhat appalling to our American ear. They say that this deficiency must be relieved either by passive rearmament of Germany and re-establishing of a strong German army—or by the arraying of a U. S. mass army which will have to hold the Rhine line.

The Atlantic Pact, a problem of terrible responsibility, high cost and uncertainty in planning, now becomes General Eisenhower's biggest problem child.

Philip Morrison

Some give and take just might break the atom deadlock

THE United Nations Atomic Energy Commission is meeting again, for the first time since last July.

Its job—to bring about international control of all weapons of mass destruction—is far from done. Every day the papers bring fresh proof of that, in new stories of the misuse of science for still more ingenious weapons.

That it meets at all is not due to the policy of the U. S., most influential member of the majority in the 11-nation commission. At the Paris meeting of UN we backed a move to suspend UNAEC indefinitely. The UN Assembly rejected this move, but supported the U. S. proposals which the Commission submitted as its majority scheme for atomic control.

In spite of a real gap between the U. S.-backed majority and the Soviet minority points of view, it is hard to see our delegation's move to suspend negotiations as anything but another skirmish of the cold war.

NOT SO WIDE. . . . On the cold record the differences between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. are far less sweeping than they appear in the daily press.

Both groups agree that atomic energy control has to be based on an internationally operated and staffed UN agency, given powers of inspection assuring all parties that peaceful atomic energy isn't being misused to make bombs.

United Nations Photos

U.S.S.R. . . . Outlaw weapons first—then establish UN control system.

U.S. . . . Establish control system first—then outlaw weapons.

The three big points at issue are:

(1) The U.S. thinks only international **ownership and management** will permit such inspection. The Soviets think international inspection can be effective without ownership. If the "owner" is an agency in which they are the minority, they argue, they will be prevented from fully developing the peacetime fruit of the atom.

(2) The U.S. insists that "enforcement"—with force, if needed—be based on majority decision, and that veto power in this field be removed. The Soviet response to this proposal was easy to foresee.

(3) The U.S. has gone into considerable detail as to how the inspection agency would operate when fully functioning. The Soviets have been much less explicit. But the inference of all the U.S. discussions of how it would work out is that the agency would first close up all mines where uranium might some day be found; disassembling of the bombs themselves would be the last thing it would do.

"ORIENTAL MANEUVER." Timing—who should do what first—is thus an important point at issue. Vishinsky made a genuine concession when he said he would consider agreement for simultaneous control measures and bomb destruction. Until then he had insisted on bomb dismantling first, control scheme later.

Our chief UN delegate, Mr. Austin, somewhat ingloriously termed this step an "oriental maneuver." But further and more rational discussion of timing still remains the best approach to the question.

Both sides must obviously give assurances of immediate gains in security.

GIVE AND TAKE. With the U.S. insisting on control of peacetime atomic plants (because of the close relation between atomic power and atomic bombs), and the Russians justifiably fearing what they call a "disguised monopoly," a possible bridge exists in the quota scheme. Under this scheme atomic energy resources would be allotted to each country not by some commission but by a treaty, to which no nation need subscribe unless and until it were satisfied with the amount it got.

The U. S. delegation has actually claimed the quota scheme to be our position—yet it has never received any formal or thorough discussion.

It is fair to say that the sincerity of the negotiations can be measured by the attention paid to timing and quotas. Legal forays against the veto, or high-minded discussion of the higher sovereignty, are not going to pay off. But some give and take on real issues just might work.

'Fear, War and the Bomb'

Philip Morrison, professor of physics at Cornell University, in the **N. Y. Herald Tribune Books** for Feb. 13 reviewed the new book, "Fear, War and the Bomb," by British Nobel Prize winner P. M. S. Blackett.

Blackett's book (writes Morrison) "tries to examine the implications of the bomb, not in the human terms of a Hersey, but in the frame of reference of a scientifically oriented officer of the general staff."

Among Blackett's conclusions:

- "The atomic bomb cannot in the next years be of itself decisive."
- "The 'generous' Baruch plan for atomic energy control is in no way generous but . . . on the contrary has tended to worsen relations between East and West."
- "He (Blackett) does not believe that war is imminent or likely. . . . He hopes for a gradual disarmament . . . by honest bargaining. . . . It is by good will and understanding, by good common sense and criticism, and not by hysteria, fearfulness or self-righteous exaggeration that we will come to a solution."

"Fear, War and the Bomb" (Whittlesey House, $3.50; $1.89 to Book Find Club members) is a No. 1 mine of atomic common sense.

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Not so bold—not so new

The UN had a plan for helping to develop trade and assist backward areas long before Truman's inaugural—but the U.S. decided it was premature

By Marcelle Hitschmann

MORE than half of the world's people are living in conditions approaching misery, President Truman says. In his Inaugural speech on Jan. 20 he put forward a "bold, new program" in which the U. S. would take the leadership.

A number of nations should pool their resources, he suggested, for the benefit of under-developed areas inhabited by "peace-loving peoples." This development program should be carried out through the UN and its specialized agencies "wherever practicable."

Five days before Truman's speech, some really practicable suggestions for world cooperation to this same end had been made in a UN pamphlet, "Technical Assistance for Economic Development available through the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies." The press, which rhapsodized over Truman's speech, had almost no space for the UN proposals before the President spoke.

MUCH FOR LITTLE. The UN pamphlet was inspired by a General Assembly resolution of Dec. 4, 1948, under which governments were to receive on request assistance in economic development. For this purpose, in 1949, the General Assembly approved an appropriation of $288,000.

The amount looks so small as to be absurd by comparison with the billions being spent in programs not carried out by UN (e.g. U.S. aid of $6,000,000-000 to Chiang Kai-shek since the war).

Yet an incredible number of things can be achieved with this appropriation; creation of advisory technical missions to under-developed areas; fellowships to experts from under-developed areas; technical training abroad in advanced countries and institutions; visiting experts to instruct local personnel in the under-developed areas in the training of technicians, or to assist in the organization of technical institutions.

CARRYING ON. No one exclaimed, "How bold and how new!" when the General Assembly resolution was passed, or when this pamphlet was issued.

Why? Because the program is neither bold nor new. UN and its specialized agencies have been quietly carrying out this type of program since they began operating.

The experts are there and the machinery is there. They produce remarkable results at a ridiculously small cost and in friendly international cooperation.

To cite a few UN organs for economic development created in the past: the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; the Economic Commission for Latin America; the Economic Commission for Europe.

The latter could have become a magnificent operation for the reconstruction of all Europe if the Marshall plan had not thwarted its development. The Marshall Plan has had the result of splitting Europe into East and West, choking the natural flow of trade in the region.

NO INTERFERENCE. Whatever normal circulation of goods takes place today in Europe is due to the Technical Committees of the UN Economic Commission for Europe: Committees for Coal, Steel, Timber, Inland Transport, Electric Power, Manpower, and Industry and Materials.

The ECE also has special Committees on Industrial Development and Trade, and on Agricultural Problems.

With the help of two important specialized agencies, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), the ECE had all it needed to "help Europe get back on her feet."

Two basic principles govern technical assistance for economic development given through UN: (1) it is designed to meet the needs of the country—thus the kind of technical assistance is established on the request of the government concerned, and the manner of rendering it is decided in agreement with this government; (2) UN stipulates that the rendering of technical assistance shall not be the means of foreign economic or political interference.

MARKING TIME. The United States, while it is a member of UN which laid down these principles, has pursued its own "recovery" policy at a price of political tension and weakening of the world organization.

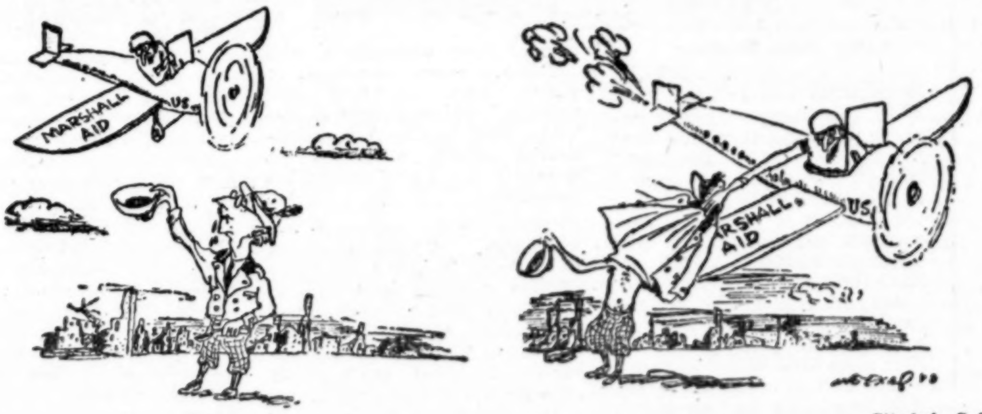
U.S. delegates fought strongly at Paris against the UN project of technical assistance to under-developed areas, because it was "premature." They voted for the General Assembly resolution only when it became clear that the majority of member states favored it.

The President's program does not arouse unanimous enthusiasm at Lake Success. The Economic and Social Council is marking time, waiting for the U. S. delegation to receive from Washington a blueprint of the "bold and new program," before attacking the study of a report on the world economic situation.

DILEMMA. Citizens of the "under-developed areas" wonder how free of foreign economic and political interference"—as the UN specifies—the U.S. blueprint will be, and how they can turn down such a generous offer . . . they call it politely a "dilemma." An Egyptian French-language daily, **Le Progres Egyptien**, thus headlined Truman's program on Jan. 22: "The U.S. would have 100 years of prosperity if the living standard of the Asiatic countries were raised by 2%."

While the Economic and Social Council is marking time, the State Dept. is getting acquainted with a subject of which it knew nothing until the President spoke.

Immediately after the address, an official of the Economic Department of the UN went to Washington. And immediately after his visit, the State Dept. felt a sudden urge for 200 copies of a UN pamphlet which the press had reviewed inadequately and which is entitled: "Technical Assistance for Economic Development available through the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies."



Stirshel, Sofia

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from page one.

measures as it may deem necessary to maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

In military terms such language could mean little, or much, or nothing. The President said it seemed very clear to him. James Reston, authoritative Washington correspondent of the New York Times, commented: "It is now clear that the Administration's policy for dealing with legislators and diplomats who say they are confused and mystified about the U. S. policy about the pact is to assert that there is nothing to be confused or mystified about."

On Friday Secretary of State Dean Acheson parried newsmen's questions on the pact. Earlier he had been reluctant, saying: "I don't want to talk about these things. All they can do is cause trouble. . . . We've all got to be restrained."

No mystery

CRITICISM. Some thought the restraint should have come earlier. In England the Manchester Guardian said editorially: "Negotiations on the Atlantic pact have been bungled. . . . The U. S. should not have forced the pace if it were not able to deliver the goods."

The Netherlands Ambassador, lean and angular Eelco van Kleffens, scurried along to the State Department to state that his government took a dim view of any pact without "ironclad guarantees."

Halvard Lange, Norway's Foreign Minister, was on his way home to give an account of his day at the market in Washington. He had turned down a Scandinavian alliance and a Russian non-aggression agreement for the sake of a pact which would bind each signatory to do only what seemed best to it at the time. Swedes were more neutral than ever. Eire said flatly it would not enter the pact while Ulster stayed with the British Empire.

Slave labor

PRAYERFUL POMP. While preparations to wage a hot war troubled statesmen's minds, the cold war raged with undiminished fury. At Lake Success an old sector flared when charges of slave-labor in Russia were revived. (See background story next week.)

The chill of the war was felt in Russia's abrupt withdrawal from the World Health Organization. And the case of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty continued to furnish war cries.

In Vatican City Pope Pius XII summoned the Sacred College of Cardinals to a secret Consistory. Clad in a long white robe, a red cape trimmed with white fur and a red stole, the Pope sat on a gilded throne under a canopy. He spoke for 25 minutes in Latin.

Cardinal Mindszenty's condition, he said, was "indeed inexplicable except as the result of a secret influence which is inconfessabili ("so base that it cannot be confessed").

On Wednesday, 33 diplomats called on the Pope to express their condolences. It was an unprecedented demonstration. Among the dignitaries were representatives of two governments that do not exist (pre-war Poland and Lithuania) and of tottering Nationalist China. Britain, the U. S. and other powers were also represented. Representatives of eastern European countries were out of town. Peter Benzon of Yugoslavia was the only diplomat in Rome who failed to attend. He said he was ill.

A movie

PARADES. In New York parades were mixed with prayers. In Queens marchers bore placards saying: "Washington —Liberate Mindszenty." More parades were scheduled for this week. In Hollywood Warner Bros. announced that they would start work at once on a picture based on Cardinal Mindszenty's life.

In Budapest U. S. Minister Selden Chapin was homeward bound at the request of the Hungarian government. Washington was thinking of sending home Hungarian minister Andrew Sik. Both capitals were running out of diplomats to expel.

In Jersey City Rt. Rev. Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen said: "The struggle is beginning to come now to drawing up its final battle lines."

The Budapest radio carried this commentary:

"In his (Mindszenty's) affair, the Government scored a great moral victory; although it knew of the disloyalty of the wicked shepherd, it continued to give financial support to the Church. In this battle the Hungarian Republic has acted in accordance with Christian teachings and has thrown bread crumbs at those who threw stones at it. It has not identified the wicked shepherd with the herd. Now that the wicked shepherd himself has admitted that he has trodden on the wrong path, what obstacle can there be for agreement between the Church and the State?"

Continued Under the Line on next page.

Gordon Schaffer

They whitewash Charles I to make today's evil pretty

LONDON

TO the student of the counter-revolution which has been going ahead with giant strides here since the victory over fascism, the treatment in Britain of the 300th anniversary of Charles the First's execution has been of more than academic interest.

A section of the Anglican Church has traditionally sought to whitewash the name of Charles I because he linked his claim to divine rule with support for the established Church.

These "Jacobites" have, until the present year, offered no serious justification of Charles' attempt to suppress Parliament. Most Englishmen have looked back with pride on the English Revolution of 1649 and the role played by the English people in the first great revolt against royal dictatorship.

"MARTYRS" THEN AND NOW. Today, the enemies of progress must defend Charles I in order to justify their attitude to the social revolutions of the 20th century.

They must condemn the execution of Archbishop Laud, the supporter of Charles I's dictatorship; otherwise how can they explain their campaign of hatred against the Hungarian Republic because it tries Cardinal Mindszenty for virtually the same crimes as Archbishop Laud?

A writer in the **Sunday Express** makes this declaration: "The bitter experience of a crumbling civilization has at least enabled us to appreciate the real nature of the forces King Charles was up against." Denouncing the patriots of the Revolution as "totalitarians" whose methods were "political gangsterdom, frame-up, purge, third degree, liquidation and terror," he calls on 20th-century Britain to honor Charles I as "a martyr of the people."

HISTORY REVISED. It is not a far cry from those sentiments to the open support of fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley by the rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This reverend gentleman declared at a Charles I memorial service:

"You may think this happened a very long time ago, but have not things uncomfortably like it happened in our own day? Some of us have sufficiently long memories to recall the outcry in the winter of 1943 when Sir Oswald Mosley was released from Holloway Gaol, and to many of us who are by no means fascists it is a commonplace that penal as distinct from preventative detention without trial and without even accusation has no place in English justice."

The reverend gentleman did not allude to the fact that in 1943 men, women and little children by the hundreds of thousands were being jostled into the gas chambers by Sir Oswald's fellow fascists.

TO FORGET. One of the tasks of the counter-revolution is to make people forget.

Thus across three centuries, reaction goes back to support the divine right of kings. Hampden, who risked his head to assert the right of Parliament to levy taxes, must be made into a political gangster. The principle which England gave to the world, that power comes not from divinely chosen rulers but from the people, must be denied.

London Daily Worker

"Come on, Ernie. How abaht recognizing Russia?"

He was no geranium

IN a physiological note on the execution of King Charles I 300 years ago, eminent British scientist J. B. S. Haldane writes:

"If King Charles had been a geranium, or one of most of the higher plants, both halves could have lived. . . . If his head had been stuck within a minute or so on to a pump which supplied oxygenated blood to it, it would almost certainly, after half an hour or so, have come round enough to open its eyes and move its lips.

". . . I hope this experiment will be tried on me or someone else, if only because we should learn a good deal from it. We might learn, in particular, that other organs than the brain are concerned in consciousness in ways at which our still rather mechanistic physiology has not guessed.

". . . However, any human head perfusion had best be tried on a volunteer, rather than a king. The severed head will have to do its best to co-operate, and it would be well to start on a biologist."

"Curiouser and curiouser!" cried Alice, "Good-bye feet!"

A London News Chronicle comment on Stafford Cripps.

How anti-semitism is growing in England

By Joan Rodker

LONDON

READING the Jan. 17 issue I was struck by a comment in World Roundup that "anti-semitism in England," though "traditionally small," is "growing."

I'll say it is. Only the evening before something had occurred which I would not have believed possible three years after the war to end fascism. It concerned me personally and the people of Kensington—the borough where I live; from there on, it concerns all the people of these islands and of the whole world.

Sir Oswald Mosley held a meeting of his Union Movement fascists in our Town Hall on the evening of Jan. 31. Permission was given by our 18 Tory councillors, and for the occasion hundreds of police, both on foot and mounted, foregathered at the Town Hall and in the neighboring streets to protect Britain's No. 1 fascist and his henchmen.

EVERYTHING was well organized: Mosley and his tough guys slipped in and out of the meeting hall by the back way and so were saved from contact with the "rowdy" anti-fascists. This stratagem involved sealing off side-streets to the public.

In keeping with pre-war memories of this sort of thing was an incident in the pub just a few doors from the Town Hall. A Jewish boy, drinking his beer, had his face smashed in by a member of the Union Movement, wielding a bottle. The Jew was taken to hospital. I do not think his assailant found his way to the police-station just next door.

The police seemed to have had less difficulty making arrests "for insulting behavior." Several anti-fascists appeared in court next day on this charge. Only one fascist, heard to shout "You . . . Yids, I'll get you yet," was fined. The fine: 5 shillings ($1). Fines for anti-fascists "obstructing the police" ranged from $2 to $20.

KENSINGTON is the first council in London to assist officially in the propagation of fascism. It is the first Borough in which those pre-war scenes are repeated, where mounted police ride into peacefully assembled crowds gathered to protect their rights.

It was the first time too that I had heard spoken aloud—in the accents of prim respectability common to Kensington—the words "I loathe the Jews." One elderly Kensingtonian female made this comment to another as they gaped at a number of Jewish War Veterans marching with banners reading: "Freedom for Fascism means an End to Democracy"; "An Insult to our Dead, a Menace to the Living."

A large blonde, who also overheard this remark, called out in loud cockney: "Cor blimey, I've a mind to tread on one of your dainty feet with my 16 stones—that'd do for the likes of you, good and proper."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

Cloak & dagger

THE world-wide search for traitors continued. In Bulgaria 15 Protestant ministers were to go on trial Feb. 25 on charges of treason and currency speculation. Newspapers in the U.S. believed that too was a war on religion. Prominently displayed was an Associated Press dispatch to that effect based on a talk with a "reponsible person just returned from Europe who specified that neither his name, his position nor source of the report could be disclosed."

In Munich the U. S. Army began to try a number of alleged Czech spies. Who they are was a military secret. Also secret were the charges. The verdict and the sentences will be secrets too, Army authorities said. Not even military police were allowed in the court room.

Reasons for all the secrecy were a secret even to Gen. Lucius D. Clay, commander of U. S. forces in Germany, who said he was trying to find out what they were.

On Thursday he pried this information from the military court under his command: the first defendant was a 31-year-old waiter on the Orient Express and he had already been sentenced to 20 years at hard labor. No one would say why. Then the lid closed down again.

The Strong case

WELL-KNOWN. From Moscow came word that Anna Louise Strong, 64-year-old U. S. journalist and traveler, was to be deported "for conducting espionage-subversive activity aimed against the Soviet Union." The Russian news agency Tass described her as a "well-known intelligence agent."

The only thing for which she had been well-known during the past 30 years was an intense sympathy for the Russian and Chinese Communists, manifested in numerous books for which she underwent strains and sacrifices to gather material. Last September she left Palo Alto, Calif., for Moscow en route to China as a roving correspondent for NATIONAL GUARDIAN. She told GUARDIAN's editor just before she left: "Like you, I suppose I am incurably bourgeois, but as long as I live I shall continue trying to make my countrymen understand the good in the Soviet revolution." Her last letters indicated she was having difficulties in obtaining permission to proceed to China. The utmost that GUARDIAN's editors could get out of the puzzle pending Miss Strong's return was that her inexhaustible and obstinate energy, which has challenged the endurance of many of her U. S. admirers, drove Russian officials to frantic lengths.

Hear, O Israel

TO Jerusalem last week "the remnants" returned. In a scarred but flag-draped building the Israeli Assembly met on Monday. Some deputies came in open-necked shirts and sweaters; some came in the smart styles of Tel Aviv; some in rabbinical vestments; a few in Arab tarbooshes (brimless caps with dangling silk tassels.) In the visitors' gallery were leaders of Moslem, Coptic, Armenian, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic religions. There were diplomats in striped trousers. The U. S., Britain and France were not represented because Jerusalem is still disputed territory and the western powers were leary of commitments. No such consideration stopped the Russian envoy; when he made his way through the crowds, cheers went up.

Dr. Weizmann, deeply moved and pausing to wipe his eyes, said: "Because we are the remnant, no more than a remnant, double and treble responsibility is laid upon us. . . ." There were sobs throughout the hall.

Division sets in

PATCHWORK. But the remnants were not all of one piece. Before the first day's formalities were over parties were squabbling. By Wednesday members of Heruth, political successor of the outlawed Irgun Zvai Leumi, were calling other deputies "collaborators." Even the three Communist deputies quarreled among themselves. One of them was expelled from the party and announced that he would form his own.

On Wednesday the Assembly adopted

Continued Under the Line on next page.

THE NATION

Rep. Lesinski's record

House labor head saw nothing wrong with Taft-Hartley

By Irving Richter

DEARBORN, MICH.

REPRESENTATIVE John Lesinski (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Labor Committee, can produce speeches to show what a great friend of labor he has been. But his record in Congress has been two-faced and he has failed to represent the best interests of the majority of his constituents.

The facts are documented. Here is some of the record.

OKAY BY JOHN. At the height of the fight over the Taft-Hartley Bill in 1947, Blair Moody, Washington correspondent for the **Detroit News**, quoted the Congressman: "I see nothing in the Senate bill which would injure unions. I am for tying up the labor racketeers."

The Senate bill became the Taft-Hartley Law.

The Congressman is smart enough to keep his voting

record clean on most strictly labor issues because in his district (biggest industrial district in the nation) it would be political suicide to do otherwise. But on such issues as price control, housing, the Un-American Activities Committee and similar matters, he has voted with the wrong side.

On June 8, 1948, Drew Pearson reported that Lesinski voted in executive session to bottle up the long delayed federal aid to education bill.

HOUSING? NO! "Extensively engaged," as he says, "since the age of 18 in the building and real estate business in the Detroit area," Lesinski is deeply concerned about housing legislation. In 1945 he introduced a bill to make it impossible for the National Housing Administration to spent its appropriations for war housing.

In conversations with this writer and R. J. Thomas, former president of the UAW, Lesinski has violently denounced what he calls "mixed housing" and defends the segregation of Negroes.

In 1947, when Congressman Sabath rose on the floor to condemn John Rankin for his denunciations of Negroes and Jews, Lesinski lined up with the reactionaries in a vote to censure Sabath.

LOVES AND HATES. In 1944 he was against legislation to give soldiers the vote, and told a union delegation: "There isn't a ghost of a chance for the . . . bill, and it won't be any use for the delegation . . . to attempt to get the Congressmen to change their minds. . . ."

At the height of the war, in September 1944, Lesinski inserted in the **Congressional Record a Life** magazine article by William C. Bullitt, which was used by the Nazis for propaganda purposes.

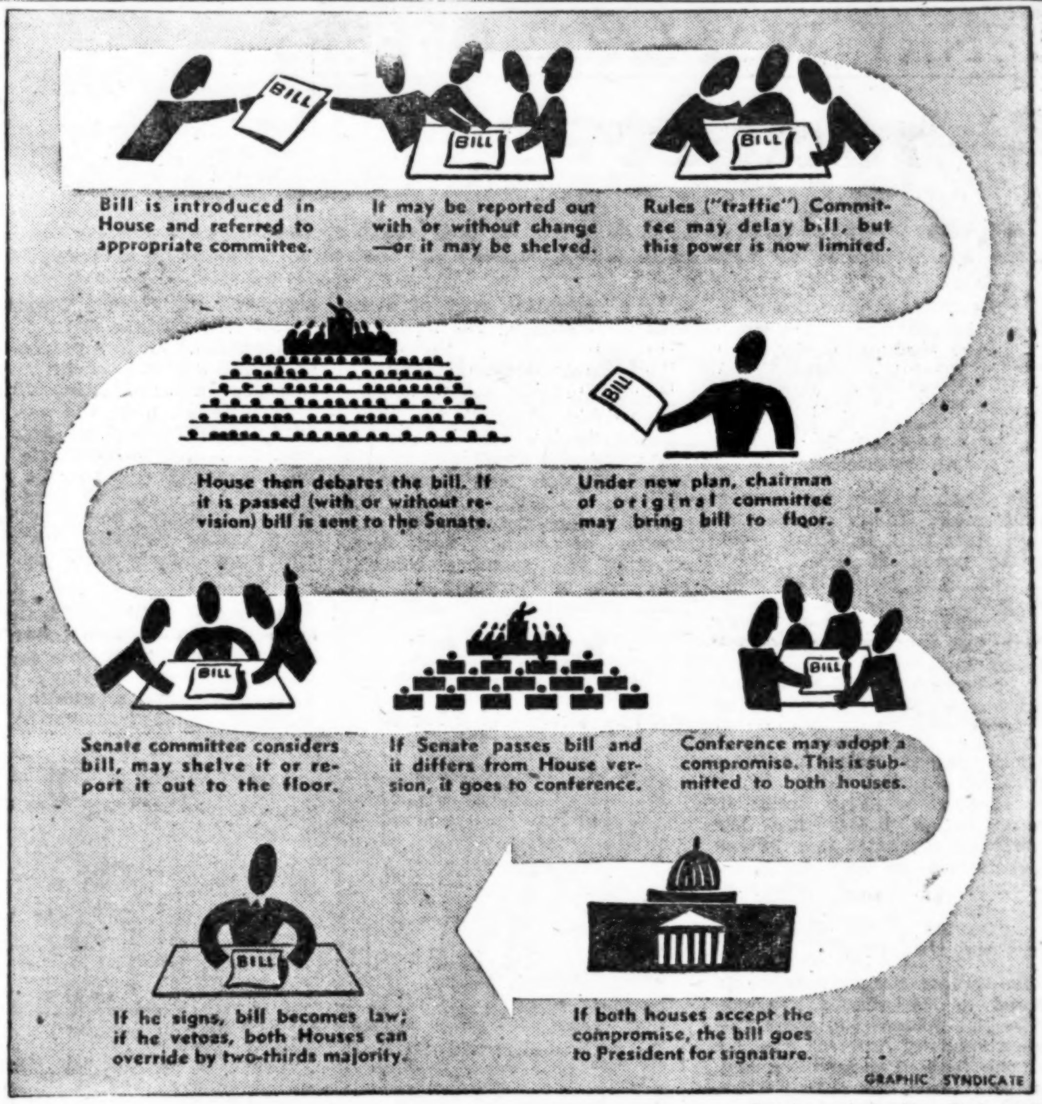
He inserted in the **Congressional Record** material by Samuel B. Pettingill, who was called by Rep. Patman of Texas "the nation's leading fascist."

SHOCKED 80th CONGRESS. He opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine. During debate on displaced persons in 1948, Lesinski wanted greater immigration quotas for members of the Anders (Polish landlord) Army, and the **Detroit News** reported that the House was shocked at his open anti-semitism.

Toward the end of the war he offered a workers' delegation this solution of reconversion problems: "After the war we must eliminate old men and women from the plants."

Lesinski is not only an old supporter of the Un-American Activities Committee, but he favored the Mundt-Nixon bill and told constituents that it was opposed "only by Communists."

IRVING RICHTER is a veteran newspaperman and former legislative representative in Washington of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.



Courtesy of the New York Times

How a bill becomes a law

Civil rights observers

DELEGATES of organizations in four countries affiliated with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers are in the U.S. to study and report on the trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders.

The four are:

Dr. Domingo Villamil, who is president of the St. Thomas Aquinas Society, prominent Catholic laymen's organization of Cuba;

Carlos Ramos, secretary of the Philippine Lawyers Guild, who was in the Bataan death march;

Claude Dennery, Paris lawyer and former secretary of the Paris Conference of Advocates, representing the Movement Nationale Judiciare;

Ronald H. T. Whitty, representing the Haldane Society in England—an organization of Labor Party lawyers of which Sir Stafford Cripps is president.

The lawyer-delegates are concerned with the issues raised by the "crime" of advocating a political doctrine.

Whitty is also under instructions from the Haldane Society to report on the Trenton "Scottsboro Case," first publicized by NATIONAL GUARDIAN and now better known to Europeans than to Americans.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

a provisional constitution providing for a President with prestige, a Prime Minister with power. Chaim Weizmann was elected President, but not with the unanimity he sought. His leanings to the west were deemed suspect by some. But only a Heruth candidate ran against him and polled 15 votes. Fifteen others abstained.

On Thursday the new President rode through flag-draped streets to the inaugural in Jerusalem. He named David Ben-Gurion Prime Minister.

'Too socialist'

THE British Labor Government was embarrassed by one of its own officials last week. Earl Baldwin, Governor of the West Indies' Leeward Islands and maverick son of the late arch Tory Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, was the cause. His language was provoking. When speaking to "natives," he called Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones "poor Creech Jones." He remarked in public that the Colonial Office was making "a complete mess."

The government was considering replacing the Governor. To advise against that came two labor leaders from the West Indies. U. C. Bird, president of the Antigua Trade and Labor Union, said that the Governor was being attacked by sugar interests and white colonists because he was "too socialist" and because he ignored jimcrow barriers and sided with West Indian labor unions.

Robert Bradshaw, President of the St. Kitts Trades and Labor Union, said, "I assure you there will be trouble if he does not return." Trade unions in Antigua wired in effect: "If Baldwin does not come back we shall refuse to harvest the sugar crop."

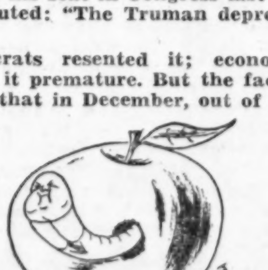
Governor Earl Baldwin predicted: "If I am sacked the whole of the West Indies will blow up—Jamaica, Barbados, all of the islands. There will be real trouble."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Depression?

REP. Earl Wilson (R-Ind.) leaped from his seat in Congress last week and shouted: "The Truman depression is on."

Democrats resented it; economists thought it premature. But the fact remained that in December, out of every



thousand workers in manufacturing plants, 22 lost their jobs. And the trend continued, in railroads, in mills, in shops.

Warehouses were stacked to the rafters with refrigerators, radios and washing machines. People were buying food but little else. Everywhere sales signs bloomed in bright poster colors on store windows.

Government economists were on the run scattering assurances throughout the country; but even these were markedly conditional. Leon Keyserling, one of the President's principal economic advisers, said: "It ought to be a very good year—unless fear psychology overtakes businessmen and investors and they decide the end of the boom is near." A. D. H. Kaplan of the Brookings Institution said the whole thing was no more than a "burp" in a healthy economic baby.

The record

SIX WEEKS OF TALK. Faced with the tag-end of a boom if nothing worse, the 6-week-old 81st Congress has failed so far to enact a major piece of legis-

Continued Under the Line on next page.

HENRY WALLACE OFFERS

A budget for abundance

A BUDGET is a blueprint of a way of life.

Last week Henry A. Wallace offered a Progressive Party budget that would cut military expenditures cleanly by half and allot $27,000,000,000 for "better living for all Americans."

The Budget for Abundance would make many shifts. It would shift U. S. spending from war to peace. It would shift Marshall Plan funds from cold war politics to United Nations reconstruction. It would shift major tax burdens from low-income individuals to a high-income corporations. It would be a shift of emphasis from profits to people.

Of President Truman's $41,900,000,000 budget Henry Wallace says: "For every dollar it spends on a better life for Americans, it wastes two dollars on arms and the cold war. Half his budget extends the cold war front—less than one-seventh wages war on disease, insecurity, slums and ignorance."

The Budget for Abundance is offered as "a practical alternative . . . designed to meet the urgent needs of America now, to end the fear of depression and war and make America secure and prosperous."

This is how it breaks down:

Military expenditures

"The President proposes to spend at least $14,300,000,000 for the military next year. We propose that this be cut in half in 1950 and the money so saved be devoted to an increasing program of Better Living." It points out that even this halving "still leaves military spending five to six times the maximum ever spent in peacetime." The President's budget, it says, "reveals the bankruptcy" of the get-tough policy, which "has brought neither agreement nor peace" but only a mounting cost of arms that is strangling the nation.

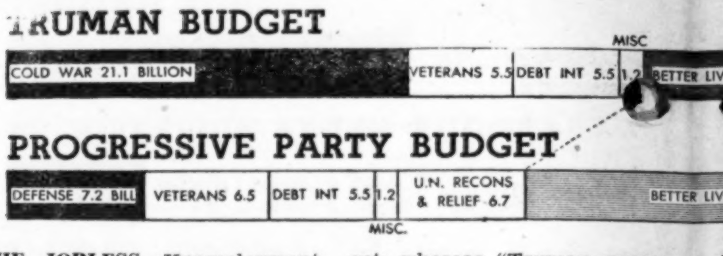
International aid

Truman's allotment of $6,700,000,000 for Marshall Plan and related funds would be shifted "into a World Development and Reconstruction Fund operating through the UN. . . . This fund would restore the war-torn economies of Europe and Asia, develop the starving colonial economies of the world, and expand foreign trade."

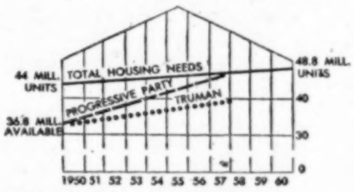
Better living

The Wallace budget would triple President Truman's allotment of $5,800,000,000 for social security measures. Truman's " 'vast new welfare state' dwindles, on analysis, to a patchwork of promises and evasions, at an increased cost of $2,000,000,000 that is taken from the current payrolls of those least able to pay. . . . The Wallace program on the contrary, is specific and definite. . . . And it does not lower purchasing power by further taxing payrolls—the cost will come largely from general revenue."

THE AGED. Old age benefits would be extended to cover all the aged, and payments would be $65 a month for single persons and $100 a month for couples.



THE JOBLESS. Unemployment benefits would be standardized under a Federal system and payments would be increased from the present average of $19 a week to $35 a week. Disability insurance and maternity benefits would be set at the same figure.



THE SICK. A Government medical care program would begin at once under the Wallace budget, whereas "Truman proposes nothing but an administrative start on his medical care program next year."

THE HOSPITALIZED. Hospital construction would be speeded up to meet the present need for 900,000 additional hospital beds within 10 years. "Under the present hospital construction program, it would take 40 years to fill the need."

THE ILL-HOUSED. Public housing funds would be doubled in the Wallace budget. "We have set as our goal the re-housing of America. The Budget for Abundance plans to build 2,000,000 homes a year." A half million of these would be public subsidized units for low income groups. Another half million would be built under a public housing program for sale or rent to lower middle income groups. The remainder would be private building stimulated by government guarantees and insurance. President Truman's housing program is criticized as "patchwork." At this rate of 150,000 public subsidized houses a year, the Budget for Abundance says, he "would create slums faster than he cleared them."

THE SCHOOLS. Education and general research would get $1,500,000,000 in the Wallace budget, against $400,000,000 provided by Truman. "Our educational system has become a national disgrace and a national danger." Funds for te[illegible] salaries, books and supplies would be boosted to $900,000,000 from Truman's $290,000,000. Where Truman grants $1,000,000 to "survey the need for educational building," the Wallace budget grants $350,000,000 as a school building fund.

CIVIL RIGHTS. Civil rights would be strengthened with a strong Fair Employment Practices Committee and an expanded Civil Rights Division in

"We have set as our goal the re-housing of America."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

lation. For speed and decisiveness Democratic majorities weren't doing so well. Of six measures written into law, only two were of even medium importance: one gave the President a wage boost, the other extended authority for voluntary allocation of critical materials by industry. All the big platform promises were still in the talk stage.

On Wednesday Congress got the President's anti-inflation bill. It asked for standby authority to put ceilings on prices that threaten to go above the level of last December; creation of a six-man board to regulate wage increases; power to allocate scarce materials, and for "last resort" authority to build industrial plants for larger production. The President had announced many times that these would be his demands. But when they arrived Congress didn't know what was around the corner: inflation or deflation.

Subject: taxes

CONTROLLED COLLAPSE. Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), chairman of the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, called in 16 economists representing industry and business for a round-table discussion. The experts talked a lot but were agreed on only one thing: corporation taxes shouldn't be increased.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) was alarmed by the bill. He said it would give the country "a completely planned and controlled economy." Sen. O'Mahoney took alarm from a different direction. He said: "Unless the government acts, collapse is inevitable."

"DECADENT SOCIALISM." On Wednesday the House passed by 367 to 19 the first large appropriations bill of this Congress and sent it to the Senate. It provides $471,894,177 to tide over some 35 federal agencies to the end of the fiscal year on June 30. Republicans managed to hold up passage for a day when Rep. John Taber of New York led a fight against an item of $2,500,000 for a new Tennessee Valley Authority steam plant. The 80th Congress had killed a similar item; it was part of the never-ending fight in Congress between public and private power. Taber talked long and heatedly against "power nationalization." To him this wasn't just "socialism," it was "decadent socialism." But the steam plant appropriation stayed in the bill by a vote of 192 to 105.

Floor debate doubled one item in the bill: that for unemployment compensation.

Depression jitters got the best of even the most economy-minded.

Taft-Hartley

THE DRAG. Loudest and longest talk still raged over Taft-Hartley repeal. One thing was clear: Republicans were succeeding in their strategy of dragging out the hearings. Labor faced the possibility of going into spring negotiations under the handicap of present legislation.

The Senate Labor Committee held aging President William Green of the AFL on the stand for a day and a half. Republicans badgered him but he maintained a dogged opposition to any ban on the closed shop. He called the Taft-Hartley law a "slave" act, said it was "impractical, unworkable and destructive," and warned Senators that "the individual workers are angry and resentful."

The filibuster

FREEDOM TO FILIBUSTER. Dixie Senators are prepared at any time to talk a civil rights program to death. This session they face a threat to their right to filibuster.

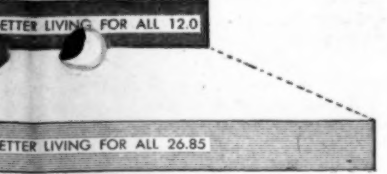
Last week 14 of them agreed to fight that threat with a filibuster. If they succeed, one filibuster will lead to another when the civil rights issue comes up.

For a while it looked as if the Administration might let the whole issue die quietly and thus avoid the talking marathons that have plagued the upper chamber in other years. But on Thursday Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas (D-Ill.) announced that the battle would begin on Feb. 28, when a proposal to ban filibusters will be considered. Senators were measuring their words in terms of days and weeks.

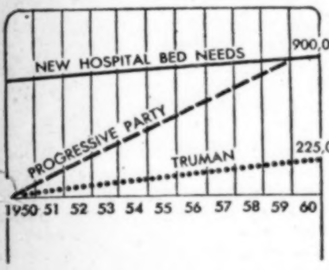
Rankled

RANKIN RUSH. Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss.) is a vindictive man. Last week he was still burning because he was kept off the Un-American Activities Committee.

When he presented his 27-man Veterans Committee with a bill to grant all veterans of both World Wars a pension of $90 a month at the age of 65, members were amazed. They had never seen it before. Rankin gave them no time to think about it; he demanded its adoption. Six Democrats and one Republican bolted the meeting and carried their complaints about Rankin's "dictatorial tactics" to the House floor. But Rankin had his bill.



the Department of Justice. The Wallace budget would take the $20,000,000 set aside by Truman for loyalty investigations and use it for enforcement of civil rights.



FEDERAL JOBS. Government employe salaries would get a boost from a $1,000,000,000 allotment in the Wallace budget.

UNDER the general heading, Better Living—the Physical Framework, the Budget for Abundance would:

- Increase allotments for transportation and communications by $200,000,000.
- Increase funds for the development and conservation of natural resources by $300,000,000.
- Shift the emphasis on atomic research from war purposes to the purposes of peace.
- Increase funds for agriculture and agricultural resources by $1,500,000,000.
- Allot $2,000,000,000 for the development of River Valley Authorities, similar to TVA, in every part of the country.
- Increase veterans' benefits by $1,000,000,000.

The cost

The Budget for Abundance would total $54,000,000,000, yet it would achieve this figure with an absolute reduction of taxes for those least able to pay.

It would decrease:

Individual income taxes by $2,500,000,000.

Excise taxes (a form of sales tax) by $2,900,000,000.

Payroll taxes by $2,000,000,000.

And it would almost double corporate taxes, from the present $12,300,000,000 to $24,000,000,000. **Even with this increase, corporations would still enjoy profits twice as high as in 1939.**

"Our Budget for Abundance," says the Progressive Party, "is a beginning in harnessing the magnificent productive capacity, the immense resources, and the technical ingenuity of America to a bold vision of a richer America for all men and women, and an America working in peaceful partnership with other nations to banish poverty and war from the face of the earth."

'Awfully unpatriotic'

WASHINGTON

EFFORTS of a minority of newsmen to break up the press conference in the Cabinet room of the Willard hotel, at which Henry A. Wallace presented the Progressive Party's budget for abundance, were a failure.

Some tailor-made red-baiting queries were almost snarled at the former Vice President. He had barely launched his general discussion of the budget when a reporter, showing every evidence of a stimulation other than that of the budget itself, demanded:

"Since your budget contemplates moving funds for the Greeks over to the United Nations, how would it be administered?"

C. B. Baldwin, Progressive Party secretary, explained that Wallace wanted to finish his general exposition and then would return to questions on any point.

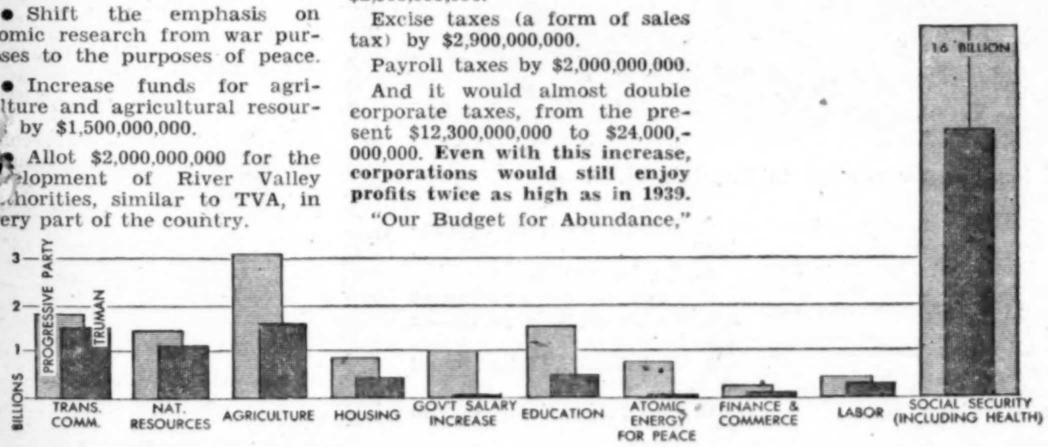
"Either this is a press conference or it isn't," the questioner grumbled, and kept up a sotto voce commentary for several minutes after Wallace had resumed speaking.

Of course there were questions about cutting the military appropriations, about stopping atom bomb production, about the impossibility of expecting Russia to keep her word, and "What do you think about Hungary?"

The New York **Post Home News'** I. F. Stone asked the final question. "Mr. Wallace," he said, "I want to ask a question that many of my colleagues are too bashful to ask. Aren't you awfully unpatriotic to be advocating all these things which will build up the country and make the people satisfied with it?"

Wallace laughed, and so did nearly everybody else.

John B. Stone



The Truman and Wallace budgets compared

Home, sour home

Mortgage rates soar —disaster ahead

By Sidney Margolius

THE steady rise in mortgage rates is adding billions to the already-inflated cost of home ownership.

A survey by A. W. Zelomek, noted business economist and president of the Housing Institute, Inc., reveals that over half the country's banks and other lenders have already increased their rates one-half of one per cent this year. And a homeowner who has to pay just one-half of one per cent more interest will find he is paying 5% more a month on a 20-year, $6,000 mortgage.

GOING FAST. Two out of three mortgage lenders now charge non-GI families 5 to 5½%, while the current rate for vets on mortgages partially guaranteed by the Government is generally 4½%. The GI Bill originally had been expected to provide mortgages at 4%, but the lower rate is steadily disappearing. In fact, the Veterans Administration is expected soon to make 4½% the official charge for GI mortgages.

The cost of a house itself has risen 35% in the less than two years since the removal of price controls on materials and the end of priorities which had briefly channeled building supplies into homes for vets. Inflated mortgage rates—pyramided on top of inflated prices—are building up to certain disaster a few years hence.

In the 1930's, when the real estate boom burst, two out of every five home owners either lost their houses or had to be saved by the Home Owner's Loan Corp. Between 1926 and 1938, almost 2,000,000 homes were foreclosed, and another million had to be rescued by HOLC.

WHAT TO DO. Pending passage of legislation that would ease the housing shortage and hold down booming mortgage rates—if such a blessing may be hoped for—the only defensive actions an individual family can take are to find one of the few sources left that still give 4% mortgages, and to make the mortgage as small as possible and the period of repayment as short as possible.

Interest rates pile up faster

than most families realize. Even at 4½%, a family would repay the lender a grand total of $16,300 on a $10,000, 20-year mortgage, while on a ten-year mortgage the total repayment would be only $13,200. That's why the long-term, small-down-payment mortgages are not quite the big boon to home-owners they're cracked up to be. Among the strongest advocates of such "easy" mortgages are builders themselves, who find that small monthly payments over a long period make it easier for them to get high prices for houses.

There are some sources that will still make loans at 4%, but won't loan to the full appraised value of a property. The Farm Bureau Life Insurance Co., a consumer cooperative with branches in many states, makes such loans up to two-thirds of the company's appraisal of the value. There are also some local banks that will give 4% mortgages for comparatively short-term periods, such as the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

And now, under changed House rules, all he has to do is wait 21 days and he can automatically call it up for floor debate. To the Administration the bill was a red hot potato. To the Veterans of Foreign Wars it was an "abortion." Rankin was getting even.

Gerhard Eisler

GERHARD EISLER and his wife are Communists who were forced to flee Nazi Germany. En route to Mexico from France eight years ago, they stopped at New York and they have been trying to leave the country ever since.

During the war the U. S. had ruled that no German could leave. Regulations did not make distinctions between Nazis and anti-Nazis. The Eislers settled down to wait for peace.

COMING AND GOING. Gerhard Eisler made the best of it. He served as air raid warden, gave blood to the blood bank and won a modest civilian citation. And all the time he and his wife pressed for the right to leave the country.

When peace came, the State Department, after searching investigation, cleared them. The boat was to sail on Oct. 18, 1946. But on the day before, Eisler was arrested and, curiously enough, held for deportation. He had to post bail to assure the government that he would not leave the country before he was deported.

Later his wife was detained on charges of overstaying her permit. She is still forced to stay here because she stayed too long.

The 'boss'

To newspaper readers throughout the nation Gerhard Eisler became known as a "mystery man" and "top Communist boss." It was said that he met and worked with American Communists, a development no more surprising than that a visiting Buddhist should seek out and work with other Buddhists.

One of the crimes charged to him was that on his visa application he had failed to state his Communist affiliation. He readily admitted guilt to that one but explained that if he had registered his politics on his application he would never have received a visa. He had to get a visa or face sure death at the hands of the Nazis.

One day the House Committee on Un-American Activities (J. Parnell Thomas, chairman) summoned him under guard to testify. In the course of his testimony he declined to answer the Committee's question concerning his political affiliations and associates. Americans, too, denied the Committee's rights to act as an inquisition. Among them were Hollywood writers and directors and the leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Eisler was cited for contempt, convicted and sentenced to a year in prison. He appealed.

Hoy, Havana

Court hearing

TEST CASE. The Supreme Court decided to hear Eisler's appeal next month. If he goes to prison the others will follow. Last week the American Civil Liberties Union, above suspicion of Communist sympathy, filed a brief as a "friend of the court." It said it was opposed to communism and to the Un-American Activities Committee as well, and urged the Court to rule its procedures unconstitutional.

If he is ever allowed to leave the country Eisler will go to the University of Leipzig which has offered him a post as social science professor. "Of course," he told GUARDIAN last week, "as a progressive professor I will teach—and do other things also." Meanwhile he writes and lectures and gathers material for a book on the U. S.

PERSPECTIVE. He is a pleasant little man with bald head and round face and he wears spectacles. He has the mildness of a man on a mountain top surveying the world with too large a view for impatience. He explains the whole extraordinary business by pointing out that the U. S. needed a "foreign Communist" about whom to get excited. He was handy.

'Barbarization'

Most ominous, he said, straddling his chair and making little professorial

Continued Under the Line on next page.

By O. John Rogge

Third article in a series by Mr. Rogge, attorney for three of the six Trenton, N. J., Negroes condemned to death for the murder of storekeeper William Horner.

The case of the Trenton Six

This testimony convicted them

MISS Elizabeth McGuire, otherwise known as "Mrs. Horner," was the alleged only living eye witness to the killing. Her testimony brought out that she had lived with Horner for 32 years.

Unquestionably she was present in the store at the time that Horner was murdered. Later she claimed to identify the defendants. In today's article I shall again quote from the testimony, let it speak for itself, and let the reader form his own judgment. The emphasis is added.

ON cross-examination the following testimony was elicited from Miss McGuire (Horner):

Q.... When did you next see the men you have mentioned here this morning or any of them?

A. Well, I was—the 7th of February I went down to Police Headquarters.

Q. So you saw the men there; is that it?

A. Yes.

Q. And since then you have been shown pictures of them too?

A. Yes, to identify them.

Q. You have studied the pictures, have you?

A. The Prosecutor showed me these pictures to see if I knew these men, to identify them.

Q. But they had them down there, and on the 7th of February, to see if you recognized them?

A. I did, but I couldn't quite recognize them, because my eyes were all puffed up. **But after I got home their faces came to me.**

Q. You were out of the hospital two days, were you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you went down to the police station for the express purpose of looking these people over; is that right?

A. M-hmmm.

Q. And you didn't identify them; is that right?

A. Partly.

Q. Not very well?

A. **My eyes were still puffed up from the accident.**

Q. So at that time you didn't wholly recognize them; is that it?

A. No.

Q. Fully?

A. Not fully.

Q. Since then you have had these photographs and gone

and they pointed them out?

A. No, they did not point them out. I went over them to identify them, from the pictures.

Q. You studied the pictures quite a bit?

A. No, I picked them out; because I don't remember those faces.

Q. What do you mean by you picked them out; you said you—

A. I identified those pictures.

Q. You identified those pictures, but you didn't identify

Q. It was between the time you saw them at the First Precinct and now, some time between now and then?

A. Yes.

Q. So you could appear here today and definitely say they were the three that you saw?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you have identified them that way if you hadn't been given the pictures to look at?

A. Even if I didn't see the pictures I could have identified those men.

is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he in there at that time?

A. No.

Q. What are the circumstances of him sleeping on the cot in the store?

A. He was a young man that had helped around the place, and helped Mr. Horner and drove his car for him, you know, and he didn't seem to have any home. So Mr. Horner gave him that sleeping place to sleep on, but he was not there

This is the scene of the Horner murder in Trenton, N. J.

over them with the prosecutor, the people themselves?

A. I did partly identify those men, but my eyes were all puffed up.

Q. When did you first come to the belief that you identified these men that you identified this morning?

A. What is that you say?

Q. When did you come to the belief that you could identify the three that you identified this morning?

A. I remember them well.

Q. When did you come to that conclusion?

A. Oh, some time back, I couldn't just mention what date.

Q. Well, why didn't you then?

A. I did identify them.

Q. You said when you saw them you didn't; is that right?

A. Well, my eyes was not quite cleared.

Q. All right: when did your eyes clear up?

A. Maybe about a week or so after, I couldn't say....

THERE is one other bit of testimony from Elizabeth McGuire (Horner) which I also offer without comment.

Q.... I don't have too clear a recollection, but there was something said about a man sleeping on a cot in the store, at that time.

Q. Was he there that morning?

A. No, he wasn't.

Q. I mean in the morning, at all. Not at all, this particular time?

A. No, I didn't see him around at all.

Q. Had he been sent out on a job?

A. No, he had been out for himself.

Q. Well, had he slept there the night before?

A. No, he went away for the week-end. He told us he was going to Baltimore.

Q. You haven't seen him since, have you?

A. No.

Q. You don't know where he is, do you?

A. No, I don't.

Q. What is his name?

A. Jerry Griswold.

Q. How old is he?

A. I imagine he was a man about 35 or so, somewhere in there, I wouldn't be sure.

Q. Before he left did you and Mr. Horner have any dispute with him?

A. No.

Q. That was not the reason he went away and has not come back?

A. No, he went down to Baltimore to get his license. He was always going to try to get a car license.

Q. You expected him back?

A. Yes.

Q. And he hasn't come back?

A. Yes, he come back.

Q. Maybe I misunderstood you. I thought you said he had not come back.

A. No, he didn't come back then, but he came to the hospital to see me.

Q. Is he in town now?

A. I couldn't say where he was. After I was out of the hospital he came to the door, and I didn't let him in. I told him to go away and keep away from there.

Q. You didn't mean it, then, when you said he had not come back?

A. Well, no, I didn't.

Q. Why did you tell him to keep away?

A. Because I was mad at him, and I told him to keep away from the place.

Q. Did you have a dispute with him?

A. No, I just felt sort of angry.

Q. You were mad at him?

A. **Sort of angry.**

Q. At the time he left?

A. No, not before I left. I was all mixed up after this accident.

Q. Naturally. But when did you get mad at him?

A. I wasn't exactly mad at him.

Q. I can only say what you say, Miss McGuire. You say you were mad at him.

A. I was angry to think everything happened and he wasn't around.

Q. So you told him to keep away?

A. Yes.

Q. That he couldn't stay there any longer?

A. He wanted to come in and sleep in there, and I told him to keep away from the place....

IT is in good part due to this testimony that my clients and the other defendants were convicted.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

gestures, was the "gradual barbarization" of American thinking.

The press was a symptom. He said: "Never have I seen such a voluntarily coordinated press. Whatever American courts do to progressives the press approves. Some criticize, yes, but they say only—do it in a more civilized way. Do it without television. In Germany we had an old saying: 'Polite up to the last step on the gallows.' "

Communist trial

FOR four weeks the defense attorneys of the 11 Communist leaders have tried to prove that a fair trial for their clients is impossible. The Communist leaders are charged with adhering to and advocating the doctrine of Marxism. The defense has claimed that jurymen are picked from the rich and that Negroes, Jews and the poor are excluded or admitted in limited numbers.

Last week the Federal jury clerk, Joseph F. McKenzie, admitted on the stand that Negro applicants for jurymen were marked "C" (for colored) on a list, that no jurymen were called from districts in Harlem and other neighborhoods populated by the poor. Peppery defense attorney Harry Sacher charged that McKenzie's earlier affidavit denying discrimination was false.

Wallace week

HENRY WALLACE last week made news where he spoke and where he failed to speak. At a press conference in Washington on Monday he announced his "Budget for Abundance." (See page 6.) On Wednesday he spoke at an American Labor Party Dinner in Brooklyn.

On Thursday he was to address the Lions Club of Danbury, Conn. But six Roman Catholic priests charged that Wallace's Presidential candidacy had been supported by Communists and for that reason demanded that the club rescind its invitation. It did.

When he spoke in Brooklyn Wallace said: "I closed the last political campaign in Brooklyn—and tonight I am opening the new one in Brooklyn."

The Melish case

CHEERFUL RECTOR. Of the Rev. William Howard Melish, who was with him on the platform, Wallace said: "He is one of the really great men of our nation."

Melish is assistant rector of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn. He is also chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. His father, Dr. John Howard Melish, is rector of Holy Trinity and has stubbornly approved his son's activities in the Council. For that the 74-year-old rector has been asked by the vestry of his church to resign.

The parish has formed a "Committee to Save Our Rector," and a sizable majority have indicated their support of him. But last week a committee of the Episcopal Diocese heard his case behind closed doors. When the hearing was over Dr. Melish said he was "cheerful but not hopeful."

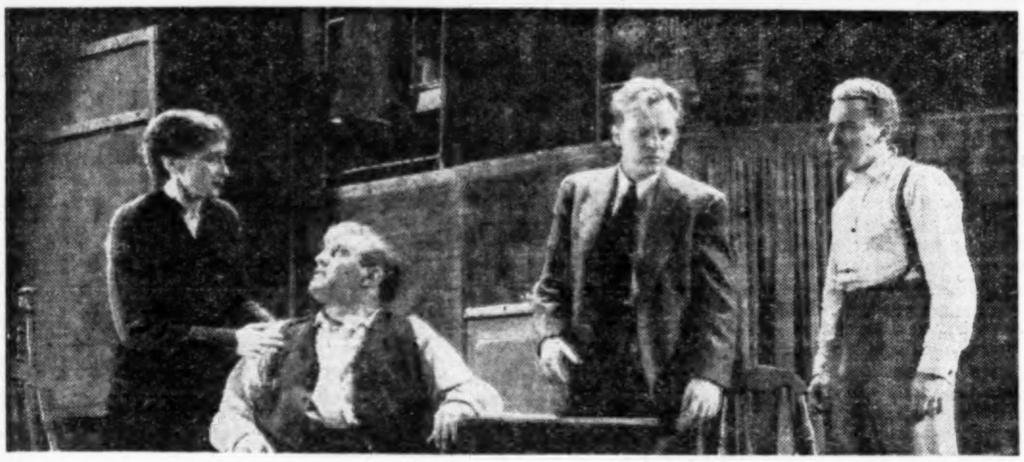
Election lesson

THE Progressive Party again tested its strength at the polls last week. In her district in Manhattan Dr. Annette Rubinstein increased the share of the American Labor Party from 13.6% of the total vote in November to 17.7%. In a Brooklyn contest the ALP share fell from 11.7% to 6.5%. Mrs. Minneola Ingersoll was the candidate. The Democrats won in both places.

To Progressives the slight gain and the larger loss were bitter pills. The results seemed to mean that a dangerous apathy still hung over progressive and non-progressive American alike. A minimum of doorbell ringing and street corner rallies gave the Manhattan campaign its lift. Absence of such activity accounted for Brooklyn's loss.

In the minds of many there lingered the memory of Leo Isacson's spectacular victory in a similar by-election last year. The memory lingered but failed to stir much life.

LIVING & LEISURE



A tense scene in "Death of a Salesman." Left to right: Mildred Dunnock, Lee J. Cobb, Arthur Kennedy and Cameron Mitchell.

'A modern theater classic'

Arthur Miller's 'Death of a Salesman'

By Virginia Stevens

DEATH OF A SALESMAN, a play by Arthur Miller, produced by Kermit Bloomgarten and Walter Fried at the Morosco Theater, New York.

"ATTENTION! Willie Loman never was famous, he never got his name in the papers—but a terrible thing is happening here. Attention must be paid!"

It is Willie Loman's wife speaking to her sons. At 64, worn out in the service of his company, he is still on the road but reduced to a commission without salary. Lovable, warm, tender, befuddled and confused, Willie is finally broken because of the dream he has lived.

The terrible thing that has happened to him and his family does attract attention because Willie is the product of the imagination of playwright Arthur Miller, whose "Death of a Salesman" is a truly great American tragedy.

It is the tragedy of the American Dream; of the average American man warped by the standard of values he has learned, who yet blames himself and never doubts the values of his culture.

THE tragedy is continued in Willie's sons, who have grown up seeing him as the personification of his own dream: a prince among salesmen, coming home with big orders, radiant, riding high. He sold his own concept ("It's not what you do but who you know—Contacts! Personality!") too well. Only his wife has seen his doubts; his sales weren't after all very large, he talked too much; he cracked too many jokes; the buyers didn't take him seriously.

And so Biff, his "golden boy" oldest son, the high school athletic hero who never amounted to anything, sees too late what his father really is: a drummer like hundreds of others who bluff and lie and get by.

His idol gone, Biff has nothing to cling to. From this time on the conflict between the two is a cancer that slowly eats out Willie's heart.

After one particular crisis Biff determines his father shall see himself as he is. But Willie, fired after 35 years with his company, hasn't the strength to understand. What he does comprehend is his son's love, solid beneath the tortured conflict.

Willie has made the final payment on his insurance, and he takes the one way he sees to help his son. "With twenty thousand dollars he will be magnificent!"

WILLIE LOMAN's story is told with dignity of passion and simplicity of truth, in a set which becomes home, restaurant, hotel with the ease of the Elizabethan theater. The action moves continuously from Willie's fantasies to the current realistic situation and back again. That this is always successful is a tribute to Miller's tremendous development as a craftsman, fulfilling the promise of his Critics Circle Award play, "All My Sons."

If the play has a weakness it lies in the conception of Charlie, Willie's only friend, a hard-headed, successful realist.

"The only thing in the world is what you can sell," says Charlie, who believes in doing, not talking. Obviously he is intended to underscore Willie's failure. But if Miller meant to convey that the hard realist lives successfully in our world, then Charlie blunts the implicit indictment of present American values, even though he cannot mar the overwhelming emotional impact of the tragedy.

Dynamically directed by Elia Kazan ("Gentlemen's Agreement", "Streetcar Named Desire"), and magnificently acted throughout, "Death of A Salesman" is a modern classic that every American should see.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Smart food shopping

A FAMILY shopping for food these days finds little comfort in current newspaper headlines proclaiming a drastic drop in the price of farm products.

The farmer may be getting only half as much for corn as he did a year ago, but your food costs just as much as it did last February, and only slightly less than the record high of last summer.

Since July's peak, the Dun & Bradstreet index of wholesale food prices has tumbled 23%. But average retail food prices have come down only 6% in the same period. They're still 40% higher than in June '46, and 105% above 1939 costs.

That means you'll still have to use every smart shopping trick to get adequate nutrition for your family this year.

THE BEST BUYS. Some foods have come down more than others this winter and are better values. Right now the best buys in protein foods for dinner dishes are cheese and eggs. Egg prices have dropped about 20% since last summer. Cheese, a highly concentrated food, offers maximum nutrition for the money in today's market. Fish is inexpensive in most areas because of comparatively good fishing weather. Pork has come down more than most meats; beef is down noticeably; veal is scarce and expensive.

To help you select the most reasonable nutrition and satisfying main dishes, **Dollar Stretcher** has worked out a table showing amounts required for an average serving per person and comparative costs at present price levels. (While prices may vary slightly in different parts of the country, comparative costs remain the same):

Serving per Person	*Cost of Serving*
Cheese (mild cheddar), 2 oz.	**7½c**
Eggs, large, 2	**10c**
Whiting, ½ lb.	**10c**
Mackerel, ½ lb.	**15c**
Chopped beef, ¼ lb.	**16c**
Pork loin, ⅓ lb.	**16c**
Beef liver, ¼ lb.	**18c**
Pot roast (bottom round), ¼ lb.	**18c**
Breast of veal, ⅓-½ lb.	**14-21c**
Fowl, ½ lb.	**22c**

GRADES A AND B. You should normally figure the average serving of meat is one-quarter pound of lean meat, or one-third to a half pound of meat with bone and fat. Don't feel badly if you can't afford fancy-quality or Grade A meat. For one thing, fancy-quality meat is interlarded with a greater proportion of fat and gives you less actual protein than does Grade B. For another, food chemists believe there is a higher content of thiamine in Grade B beef than in Grade A. Some of the better comparative values in beef now are plate, navel and short ribs.

FISH BUYS. As for fish, mackerel is generally available in winter, and whiting and flounder are inexpensive most of the year. If you can't buy fresh fish in your region, frozen fish is entirely satisfactory, and in winter is often less expensive than fresh. Just be sure frozen fish is stiff and hard when you buy it; don't defrost until you're ready to cook. And, preferably, start cooking the fish while still frozen to get full flavor.

VEGETABLE BUYS. Prices of vegetables have not come down appreciably this winter; in fact, some are more expensive than last year because of cold weather in Florida. Best buys at this time are onions, bulk carrots, cabbage, kale and leeks.

Other foods that offer comparatively low prices and high nutrition now include canned peas and tomato juice, peanut butter, rolled oats, pea beans and dried prunes.

THE GARDELLA AFFAIR

By Bill Cahn

AS we American sport lovers face the coming of a new spring, we must be brave because—if we are to believe recent newspaper headlines—the great American game of baseball may die an untimely death. A man named Dan Gardella is suspected of plotting to destroy it.

But hold back those tears for just a few moments. Let's take a quick look at the facts about Danny Gardella—a hard-hitting outfielder who specialized in clowning and acrobatics on the side during the war years.

While not exactly the greatest outfielder in history, Danny appears to have had more than his share of that independent spirit which—in NAM ads—is sometimes called private enterprise.

DANNY GOES SOUTH. Several years ago, when the ill-fated Mexican baseball league began to lure big leaguers south of the Rio Grande for fat salaries, Danny was interested.

And so, when the New York Giants—whose property he was—refused to sign Gardella to a contract acceptable to him, he packed his bag.

Soon Gardella, Mickey Owen of the Brooklyn Dodgers, and a number of other major league stars had skipped to Mexico to play for higher wages and promises of better working conditions.

Now this may sound like a mere fielder's choice. But to top echelons in organized baseball, it was worse than braining an umpire with a fungo bat.

Because jumping American organized baseball for what is termed an "outlaw" league violates the sacred "reserve" clause binding a player to the ball club that "owns" him. Under this contract clause, the ball club has an exclusive right to the player's services, as well as the right to sell or trade him.

MORALLY SHOCKING. Well, to make a short story long, Danny and others jumped to fame and fortune only to regret it later when the Mexican league folded.

Back in the States almost all the former big leaguers sought jobs playing ball, but found themselves blacklisted even among small-town sand-lot pros.

Danny went to court. Last week the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld him and found organized baseball guilty of being a monopoly, stating that it "possesses characteristics shockingly repugnant to moral principles."

With the issuance of this court finding, the lid blew off the kettle for sure.

2-WAY MILKING. Headlines — written by likeable sports writers who are as wedded to the big league baseball setup as any huckster—forecast the end of baseball as we know it.

The **New York Times** published a piece entitled "From Abner Doubleday to Danny Gardella," which actually said: "It was Doubleday who is accorded the distinction of inventing our great American game. Dauntless Dan (Gardella) could very well become the fellow who destroyed it. . . ."

But one fact stands out bright and clear from the Gardella Affair.

And that fact is that the whole structure of our organized baseball system is built on something less solid than granite when it has so much fear of the finding of the courts.

STATUESQUE DAN. As for Danny, his lawsuit might endanger the grasp the millionaire playboys have on our national pastime.

But it certainly does not threaten to kill baseball. He may even some day have a funny little statue right next to Abner Doubleday with a sign beneath it marked "The Liberator."

BILL CAHN is a former sports writer, now columnist on the UE NEWS, official organ of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

• Round the Nation with the Guardian By-liners •

Now Dixiecrats claim constitution

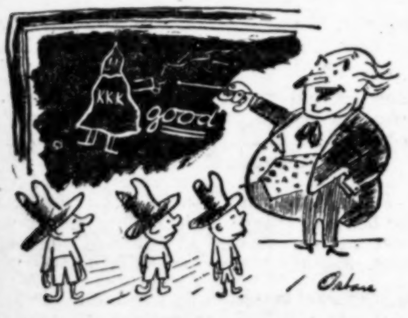
By Celia Jo Tylee

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

TWO weeks ago Alabama Dixiecrats moved to ask a U. S. Supreme Court ruling on a three-judge Federal Court decision calling the state's Boswell amendment unconstitutional. The amendment, described as "one of the last bars to mass Negro voting in the South," would require all voters to interpret the constitution to the satisfaction of election registrars.

One Dixiecrat, Gessner McCorvey, declared that "registration of a vast horde totally unfit to vote faces Alabama unless our registration laws are amended."

THE "INSTITUTE." Meanwhile, Dixiecrat leaders from several states met in Birmingham to set up a "States Rights Institute" with headquarters in Washington, D. C. Among the leaders represented or present were Horace Wilkinson, Dixiecrat leader, along with Dixiecrat Govs. Strom Thurmond (S.C.), Fielding Wright (Miss.), former Gov. Ben Laney (Ark.), former Gov. Frank Dixon (Ala.) and delegates from Texas and Louisiana. The proposed "States Rights Institute" would have delegates from all southern and "border" states. It will fight against "bureaucracy, regimentation, centralization and federalization" and, of course, the right of the Negro to vote.



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Kentucky news: unions and floods

By Mary Brush

LOUISVILLE, KY.

LOCAL 176 of the Transport Workers Union, with 1,200 members, is threatening to strike over a two-year-old pension fund dispute with the Louisville Railway Company, which operates city busses. The union wants to collect money from the company and employes and operate pension machinery itself, whereas the present proposal from the company is for a jointly-managed system. The union has doubled membership dues to raise an emergency strike fund by May 31, when the present contract expires.

Local 89, Truck Drivers Union, representing about 270 drivers who handle nearly all freight hauled in the city, won a 22-cent an hour increase after a conference with the 19 local cartage firms. Their new hourly rate will be $1.40. They also got a five-day, 44½-hour work week instead of the present six-day, 48-hour week.

International Harvester Company last week warned employes who are members of Farm Equipment Workers Union, CIO, that they may be fired if the members don't end what the company calls wildcat strikes. The union says the stoppages are upheavals, not strikes, and that the union members have been following grievance procedures set forth in the contract. About 3,000 workers are involved.

"ORDINARY" FLOODS. Louisville has been having what the weatherman calls "just an ordinary low flood." It has done little damage, affecting only two or three small businesses near the downtown waterfront, whose proprietors move out their equipment with considerable regularity and unconcern. There is a move on to extend the flood wall into the county, but it's running into legal complications over whether the property to be protected is worth as much as the wall would cost.

The city is planning a "poor man's superhighway," to run six miles between the city and a suburb, and to be created by improving certain streets along the route. It's to be a non-stop, one-way affair, with the traffic direction reversible so that motorists can leave the city from noon to midnight, and enter from midnight to noon. It's a Mayor Farnsley idea.

The Louisville Free Public Library has been awarded what is supposed to be the nation's first radio broadcasting permit to be granted to a library. They will use it for educational programs, with no advertising allowed.

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EDITORIAL

The daily life of a progressive

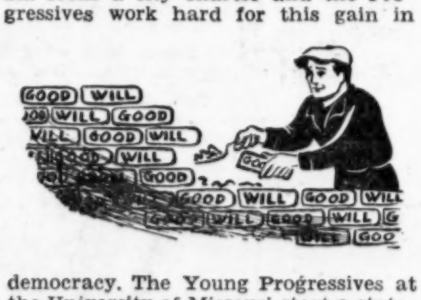
By David W. Janes

MOBERLY, MO.

THE election is now three months past and the shape of the new administration is becoming apparent—following the pattern Henry Wallace predicted it would. If progressives everywhere continue to fight, we may avoid disaster and even see some gains for the common people of the nation and the world. Failure to do this can result in the destruction of civilization itself.

There are opportunities for building good will for the Progressive Party in the daily lives of every member. A friend is in the hospital and literally "cannot afford to live"; a neighbor is discharged by the richest man in town in order to maintain his profit level; the cost of living creates general dismay. Progressives will be active in helping these people—that is the spirit that makes anyone support a party. Progressives differ from other "men of good will" in that they see the relation of these seemingly isolated events to the pattern of reactionary politics. As these things are welded into a mighty movement, we can bring about the peaceful revolution for which Roosevelt and Wallace have worked.

MEAN WHAT THEY SAY. The city employees sought a raise in wages. A letter to the Council may have been of some help to them in winning their own fight for abundance and also showed what the principles of the Progressive Party mean on the local level. A colored church needs repair. The Second District Committee passed the hat and made a small contribution, which was very well received. The city of Columbia seeks a city charter and the Progressives work hard for this gain in



democracy. The Young Progressives at the University of Missouri start a statewide drive to build support of democracy in the admission of Negro students to the University. These things embarrass no one by asking them how they will vote, but they show that the Progressives mean what they say and are really working for the cause of the common man. There is little glory or thrill in these things; but they can literally be the means of saving the democratic way of life.

Midwest news

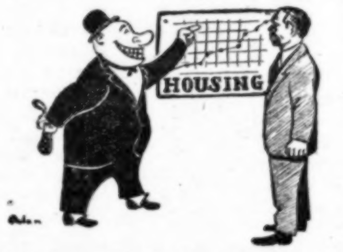
by Rod Holmgren

'The Crusaders'—Jake Arvey Style

CHICAGO

LAST SUMMER, in the heat of the presidential campaign, Chicago Democratic leaders launched a civil rights "crusade." On Sept. 15, in a step aimed at advancing the "crusade" beyond the vote-getting stage, Alderman Archibald Carey and eleven other Aldermen introduced a measure calling for non-segregated occupancy of 10,000 housing units to be built under the Chicago redevelopment program.

To date, only the Progressive Party has supported the bill without qualification, but now the Democratic leadership here is jockeying for position on the measure, in the face of accusations that they have been working behind the scenes to kill it.



OUT OF THE SOUTH. Latest indication is a letter from Cook County Democratic boss Jacob Arvey—vacationing in Florida—to the editor of the **Chicago Defender**, "correcting a misunderstanding."

Arvey had been quoted in Chicago papers as saying: "If I were in the council and convinced that the Carey amendment would prevent or impede badly needed housing, I certainly would not vote for it at this time."

His letter to the **Defender** said the reverse.

"If I were in the city council," he wrote, "I would attempt to reconcile the differences in an earnest endeavor to get both housing and a pronouncement on civil rights for which our party stands four-square. Failing in that, and in the event that the issue was placed before me for a vote, I could not and would not vote against the principle involved."

THE OPPOSITION. Arvey's letter to the **Defender** followed closely on an unexpected announcement by Alderman Robert Merriam, the Democratic party's favorite "independent" in Chicago, that he will vote for the measure. Merriam was one of those who had been accused of working behind the scenes against the Carey proposal.

Open opposition to the ordinance has been limited to the Citizens Assn., a taxpayers group, Milton Mumford and Fred Kramer. Mumford, a Chicago Title and Trust Co. official, acted for some months as Kennelly-appointed Chicago housing coordinator. Kramer is also a real estate dealer.

Although there are 18 Republicans in the non-partisan city council, no word has been heard from GOP officialdom on the controversy.

Meantime, Progressive Party clubs in most of the city's 50 wards were visiting their aldermen to urge unqualified support when the measure comes up for a vote early next month.

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2 unions protest UAW goon squads

EAST MOLINE, ILL.

LOCALS of both the United Auto Workers and the Farm Equipment Workers (CIO) joined in protest last week over alleged "goon" tactics employed by UAW Vice-President Livingston and a band of 100 leaflet distributors at the East Moline plant of International Harvester, where UAW is seeking to take over the Farm Equipment union. The latter union has refused to follow a CIO executive board order to dissolve and merge with the UAW.

Livingston and his followers were driven from the gates of the East Moline plant by FE workers.

CHALLENGE ISSUED. FE local president Arvid Sheets promptly swore out warrants for arrest of Livingston and Greathouse on disorderly conduct charges. Three days later UAW filed counter-warrants.

FE district president John Watkins challenged the UAW to an election to settle the jurisdictional question in the area within 15 days. FE claims 10,000 members in the area; UAW 2,200.

General Motors Styling Works Local 157, UAW, sent a telegram to FE remarking that "Vice-President Livingston and the gangsters he hired got what they deserved. We would do the same thing if we had to protect our union from goons."

"OPEN HEARING." The Progressive caucus in UAW, representing 50 locals in the Detroit area, passed a resolution demanding "an open hearing before any more of our dues money is squandered in such attempts to smash legitimate sister unions."

Virgil Lacey, president of the tool and die unit, member of Ford Local 600's executive board and a member of the national Ford bargaining committee, telegraphed Sheets that "Livingston's action is a blot on the good name of our union—he should be removed."

The East Moline clash climaxed a series of similar attempts by UAW squads, cold-shouldered at six other Chicago area FE plants.

Please enter a subscription to NATIONAL GUARDIAN for one year — $4 [ ]; 13 week trial — $1 [ ]

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EVERY SUBSCRIBER GET A SUBSCRIBER—EVERY WEEK

THE MAILBAG

With love

More than 500 readers have already signed up as Guardian Associates. Most of them accompanied their generous contributions with letters from which the following were excerpted. Sorry there isn't room to print them all.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Our GUARDIAN must not and cannot fail. I am enclosing my contribution to become a Guardian Associate and will send you more as I can spare it, maybe not each week, but as much and as often as I can spare it.

Joseph L. Bradford

•

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Enclosed find my contribution toward progressive press and real democracy. Only regret it is not more. Am 70 years and retired on government pension; without help of large family, could not make it.

Arthur Bragg

Report to readers

Out of danger!

THERE are times when even the most hard-boiled among us find it impossible to swallow back that telltale lump in the throat which wells its way up in moments of deep feeling.

Faced as we of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN are this week with just such an emotional busting-out point, perhaps we'd better start a round of smiles by saying what we have to say this way:

The patient is out of danger.

Although still on the critical list, the GUARDIAN will survive.

The thousands of anxious friends who have written, wired, telephoned and dropped in personally to help in the last two weeks since we published our appeal for help in the Feb. 7 issue, have made it possible for us to make this announcement.

Among them, these readers have already poured in several thousand dollars in amounts small and large, with pledges of more, many times over. A few people of greater means have rallied around, too, with guarantees of substantial help for the future which we expect will permit us many weeks and even months in which to get on our own feet.

THIS whole edition of the GUARDIAN could have been devoted to the contents of these responses. A cross-section of the mail appears on this page and herewith are a few more selected comments. As you read them, try to imagine how you yourself would respond to such a flood of encouragement and hope.

"Don't fold up. . . . To have a spokesman for our ideas and then not maintain it is political suicide. . . . The possible demise of the paper would be a grievous blow to me. . . . If you can't pay the printer, please buy a mimeograph machine, but for heaven's sake don't stop publishing. . . . Please continue to keep us informed of your financial status. . . . I am a $50 a week working stiff, but I pledge you $1 a week subsidy for one year. . . . Here's hoping the other 24,999 answer your appeal pronto. . . . Never say die!"

BUT wait, you've only heard half the story.

While the foregoing was happening to us, another kind of mail was also pouring in—letters, renewal orders, group subscription blanks adding up to the two biggest weeks of new subscribers since our Christmas gift book offer ended.

"I felt so terrible after reading your appeal," said one practical housewife, "that I started right out to see if I could help. I went to my neighbors and took the GUARDIAN along with me.

"I got 15 subscriptions."

Next day a similar letter followed this one, from the same busybee. It contained another batch of subs—a total of 24.

Since this is a situation in which the readers (may their tribe increase!) have taken over, this report draws to a close with still another letter from a Michigan subscriber:

"All newspapers must be subsidized. The commercial press is subsidized through advertisements. If a people's press is to exist, it will have to be subsidized by the people."

So much for Michigan.

And, finally, from an embraceable lass down Maryland way, enclosed with a $5 bill last Monday, Feb. 14:

"To My Valentine."

I'll bet all the subscribers in the Sovereign State of Illinois that nobody—but nobody—sent such a sentiment last week to, say, the editor of the **Chicago Tribune.**

John T. McManus

Editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN:
17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

I want to become a Guardian Associate.

☐ **I enclose $25.**

☐ **I pledge $25, advancing $.... now, the remainder to be contributed at my convenience.**

Name ....

Address ....

ITHACA, N. Y.

Allow me to become a contributor in the extended sense. Good luck.

Philip Morrison

•

See extension, p. 2.—Ed.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

I personally have had great satisfaction in reading the GUARDIAN—the only weekly I have ever found worthy of taking the place of the old **Outlook** of Lyman Abbott's time. I want to congratulate you on your very interesting and stimulating biography of Claude Williams.

Jessie W. Armstrong

•

HOUSTON, TEX.

This is the best I can do for this week. Please keep up the good work and feel free to call on me for further donations if needed.

Robert E. Middlebrook

•

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The public is helpless, kept in ignorance and filled with falsehood. Nothing is so important as promoting our progressive press. Wish you would have a Wallace item in each issue.

J. N. McCullough

•

TACOMA, WASH.

I am grieved to think that there is a possibility that GUARDIAN may be forced to expire. This must not happen even if you are forced to print just two pages.

Nella Waadne

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I feel that it is most necessary for this publication to continue and while I cannot contribute large sums I am glad to do as much as possible in this direction.

Marian E. Herrick

•

GARY, IND.

For Homer—who broke his heart and died at 22 trying to break thru the dead end that our town is for youth—especially with darker colored skin—for GUARDIAN, this money from each of us to help give all the Homers a chance.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Kates

The Mindszenty case

NEW YORK, N. Y.

With regard to the Mindszenty affair, I am minded to say like Paul to the men of Athens: "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious."

For if we adopt and seek to impose on Hungary and the world the ancient writ, "Touch not Mine anointed," we shall insensibly betray our history as a nation and its constitutional principles, reviving the medieval concept of the church as a state above the state. The postulates of our political structure deny any sacrosanct, untouchable, ungovernable character to any citizen or body of citizens.

That rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God is indeed an unimpeachable precept. To carry it out, one has but to ascertain the political opinions held in heaven. Booth, having satisfied himself on this point, murdered Abraham Lincoln. Luther, similarly assured, burned Pope Leo's bull and called its author Antichrist. For revelations of these celestial arcana, Cardinal Spellman has, of course, but to look to the Pope.

To many of us less happily situated, it certainly appears that the hierarchy of Spain, alike under the former monarchy and the present fascist usurpation, have been coy toward spreading the fiery spirit of this doctrine among the masses of the faithful. For ages they have been ground down in poverty, ignorance and disease by tyrannies which mere men, unaided by access to the Inscrutable, can only regard as utterly inhumane and damnable.

As a plain, old-fashioned American, I plead for one honest voice among the leaders of our land to condemn as "infamous kangaroo courts" not the People's Courts of Hungary, but the military tribunals of General Franco. Even at this hour he continues to avenge himself on a once-risen democracy by imprisoning and executing men and women, workers, scholars and priests (humble pastors of humble people), after secret trials or without trial, for the sacred crime of rebellion to tyranny.

Francis Sheehy

CHICAGO, ILL.

Very, very sorry I can't send more. I was an **Illinois Standard** subscriber. I'm proud to be an Associate.

Theodora J. Pikowsky

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Sorry, that's all I can send to keep our GUARDIAN alive. We need it like our daily bread.

W. Mildenberg

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MIAMI, FLA.

I was shocked at the message on the front page. I am going to send mimeographed copies of this appeal to our membership and readers of the GUARDIAN with an urgent request for funds to keep the GUARDIAN going.

Gail Gropper, Coordinator
Progressive Party of Florida

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ELMIRA, N. Y.

I am used to this sort of appeal. It has come to be the sign of the kind of paper that is worth having around the house. P.S.—The money represents some overtime I picked up waiting until 4 a.m. for the verdict in the Mindszenty trial. I am a printer on a Gannett newspaper.

Harold Slingerland

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What to fear

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A "student aide in an Eastern college" writes in the Feb. 7 Mailbag:

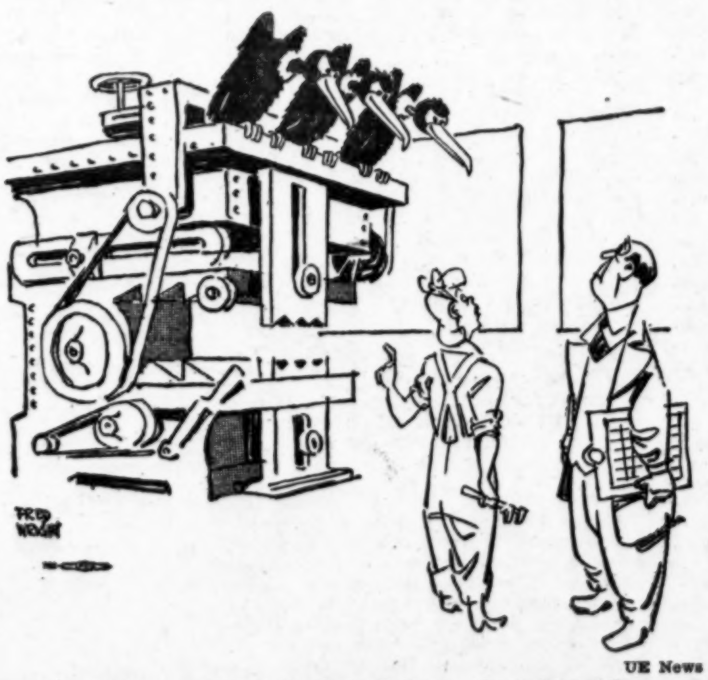
"I have noticed the growth of fear of the wrong kind in too many people," he writes, " . . . not of the growing suppression and intimidation in this country . . . and of the trial of ideas . . . but rather a fear to speak out against these symptoms of fascism, a fear of personal, individual insecurity. . . . It is up to us who are conscious of what to fear to help arouse the consciousness among our fellow citizens and to remain ourselves conscious and unafraid. . . ."

True, fine and brave. And how does this letter end? With a call to stand up and be counted? No. "If you print this, please omit my name," it whimpers. "My job, of course, is at stake."

Who, then, is meant by "us who are conscious of what to fear?"

In the adjacent column of the same issue there is a letter from a Federal Government employee which concludes: "I could be fired for being disloyal if my superiors found out I was writing to your paper." Are you sure, union brother? You (and I) through our union have protested against the Loyalty Order, against the ex parte determination by Attorney General Clark that certain organizations are "subversive" or "Communist fronts"—and yet, it seems, you are ready to step into Tom Clark's shoes and make your own finding that writing to the GUARDIAN is a disloyal act. You shield yourself from the danger of being identified as guilty of an act that no one but you has characterized as a crime.

Jessica Davidson
Federal Employee
Local 10, UOP-CIO



UE News

Okay . . . so it's safe. But what are those buzzards hanging around for?

BY WINSTON DUGAN—'My Finest Hour'

MORAL OF THE WORK

In War: Drafted
In Defeat: Licked Unfairly
In Victory: Insufferable
In Peace: A Nuisance

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THEME OF THE BOOK

How I indomitably started writing this book ALONE till publishers, who had been unprepared, got up the dough, a cool million.

PREFACE

THE weight of momentous affairs bore heavily upon me during the passage of days described in this portion of my memoirs, which is part of the prospective full work of 27 large octavo voulmes I am writing at space rates for unprecedented simultaneous publication in several languages for The-Book-of-the-Ages Club, the Bridgeport Herald, Le Canard Enchaine, Aftonbladet, the Dartmouth Jack-o-Lantern and the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. At the same time the work is being carved on the Great Pyramid at Cheops (Ark.) and being filmed at the Biograph Studio, as well as reaching its eager audience of mouth-readers through stereopticon slides and marathon readings in the principle amusement parks of the world.

The days of which I write in this 300,000-word fragment of my sketch, were days when I fought alone, neglected by half-blind publishers and half-witted cinema magnates, and during which I carried a heavy burden of crushing care, a load which I will cheerfully pass on to those intelligent persons who buy the entire 27 books. Herein I tell how I was successively a civilian outside the government, a draftee, a private first class, and finally — most crushing of all — a corporal.

Staggering under my burden of office, I was supported by nobody but the armed forces and industrial might of the allies and sustained by various mess sergeants. Thus I was enabled to overcome all my foes and hold high the great banner which had been put into my not unwilling hand.

WINSTON J. DUGAN

Augean Stables
Yorkville
Manhattan
April 1, 1949

IN thrusting my eye back upon those peaceful days when I sought rather the bosom of my family than the tiller of state, the bygone scene is lit with a genial glow not unlike that of a brandy pudding set aflame at Christmas, or the uses brandy is put to the other 364 days of the year. With the honors of a grateful nation bestowed upon me, my place was secure upon the larger scene while I amused myself with needlepoint and my growing collection of teabag tags. I was examining a new rare Darjeeling tag the day the summons came at the hand of a special government courier, dressed in the forbidding but reliable grey of office.

I grasped readily the omens of the hour; indeed I had not been unaware during late months that my name and person had figured in the discussions and counsels of those who were charged with the defense of our Island. All of us, everywhere upon the Home Island, knew our duty, from Baker Field to the Battery Barge Office, and from Vladeck Houses to the Henry Hencken coaldock.

I permitted myself the warlike emotions of a man to whom such summons are not unexpected and even welcome, and addressed myself to the **aide memoire**, which in turn was addressed to me. The note proved to be greetings from my great friend, Mr. Roosevelt. The President's usage was curt and direct; he appealed on the strength of our friendship dating back to a polling booth in 1932, to come to his aid, an action I was cheerfully prepared to take with alacrity.

The author in battle undress

* * *

IT might be well to survey for a moment the scene of conflict which then presented itself upon the troubled globe, before the rapid ameliorations that occurred in the first days of my stewardship. The President was confronted with seemingly hopeless tasks of state, which called upon him not only to pursue his arrangements with the huge new Soviet ally, to affect his designs in mobilization and industrial supply, but also to deal with Mr. Churchill.

It must be said in all honor to the President that, not only did he shoulder his own tasks with ebullience of spirit, but he was greatly to help me with mine in the days that unfolded. I felt that I was not alone the moment I entered upon the train that was to bear me to my first post at Fort Dix, New Jersey. The President surrounded me from the first hour with a picked group of brilliant planners and men long-famed in infantry drill regulations and the occult nomenclature of modern arms.

During the unique and intimate relations which I was to hold with the President for three long testing years, I always referred to him as the President, while he entered into the jocular spirit of the appellation and signature I had chosen for myself, **The Former Civilian Person.**

* * *

AFTER seven hours on the train, during which we had traversed some 32 miles of road, I threw myself into my first duties at the Fort with characteristic energy and prognostic shrewdness. Once I had been outfitted, I proceeded to place the entire military establishment under my purview. A nation is blessed when it earns a man who knows what he is about at the outset of affairs and is wise enough to single out that man and award him power.

I severely rationed my power at the beginning, seeking quietly to assize the layout rather than to loose more confusion than already prevailed at the Fort.

Yet I could not but advert to the frankly nervous tone of the President's communications to me. France had fallen, although no obloquy falls upon my ministry for that, since it occurred ten months before I was chosen. By the same token I could shoulder no responsibility, as much as I regretted it, for the Fall of Corregidor. I was solidly on record with several speeches telling Corregidor not to fall.

* * *

BUT one cannot remain Number Two, or Three, or Four too long, if one is called to be Number One. So it was in the calm of my purpose that I grasped the nettle and asked for more power.

It must be regarded as a favorable token for my commanding officer that he summoned me to an abandoned sand quarry at Fort Hancock, and pressed into my hand a mighty weapon the government had been able to forge —a first class privacy. It did not altogether displease me. The President was emboldened to another of his decisive martial strokes not two days later—he raised the pay of PFC's from $22 to $55.

We were being given the tools. The foot soldiers were mastering drill and manual-at-arms and I felt unshaken in my resolution. I sensed on every side the fibres toughen as the home front accomplished miracles of productivity which poured into our beleaguered camp in the form of Red Cross ditty bags, three-armed sweaters, cakes and more cakes.

I allowed myself no complacency as the bright augurs of victory gleamed all about me. I lighted my mind with the Great Plan I had been forming, which will be described in fine as this chronicle marches through tens of thousands of words steadily toward victory.

* * *

BEFORE three months had passed since I had had the badge sewn on me, the President asked me to take up my arms and military impedimenta and sally forth in person to serve in Britain. He asked me to serve in Britain. On my part I welcomed this wise decision in good heart and brought my men about me to impart the orders.

In the clash and clangor of mighty events and the onrush of this prose, I have forgotten to tell you I had been brevetted corporal. I was now in charge of crack troops of my own, which I may tell you is better than needlepoint when it comes to preserving societies. These men were soon to meet their sanguinary test in the public houses of the United Kingdom and I owed them more than a word.

The President had been too discreet to risk the storm of public opinion that would break upon his shoulders by publicly announcing the reason that underlay his request for me to leave, but I knew his mind and passed the word to my men that Mr. Churchill was in a bit of a funk. The President needed me on that other Island across the sea.

* * *

THE President's decision proved to be one of the most brilliant judgments he and I made in our famous comradeship at grand strategy. It should be remembered that we were merging our combined purposes at some geographical difficulty: he was confined to Washington and I was preoccupied two hundred miles away at Fort Hancock. I will always honor and exalt among English-speaking publishers my friend The President, for the searching way he met my mind, set as we were upon our common purpose. Remember well: he had never met me.

His decision was to have consequences beyond our realization at the time he sent his message to The Former Civilian Person, for within the fortnight of my arrival in Britain Montgomery dealt the blow at Alamein. I was further upheld before the year of 1942 was out; we had heartened the Russian to hurl back the German foe at Stalingrad, which shall ever live in the annals of valour, or until Mr. Churchill takes it away from them in writing.

NEXT WEEK: * "A White Glow ran through me, overpowering, sublime". Winston Dugan tells of his first encounter with war-time gin in the Horse & Groom in London's Soho.

—JAMES DUGAN

* *Not if we can help it.—Ed.*

Daily Express, London